7 b.

The Case of the Army truly stated, together with the mischiefes and dangers that are imminent, and some sutable remedies, Humbly proposed by the Agents of five Regiments of Horse, to the respective Regiments and the whole Army.

WHereas the grievances, dissatisfactions, and desires of the Army, both as Commoners and Soldiers, have been many months since represented to the Parliament; and the Army hath waited with much patience, to see their common grievances redressed and the rights and freedomes of the Nation cleared and secured; yet, upon a most serious and conscientious view of our Narratives, Representations, Ingagement, Declarations, Remonstrances, and compairing with those the present state of the Army and Kingdome, and the present manner of actings of many at the Head Quarters, we not only apprehend nothing to have been done effectually, either for the Army or the poore oppressed people of the nation, but we also conceive, that there is little probabillitie of any good, without some more speedy and vigorous actings.

In respect of the Army,* there hath been hitherto no publique indication thereof, about their first Petition, answerable to the ignominie, by declaring them enemies to the State, & disturbers of the peace: No publike clearing nor repairing of the credit of the Officers, sent for about that petition as Delinquents: No provision for Apprentizes Widowes, Orphans, or maimed Souldiers, answerable to our reasonable addresses propounded in their behalf: No such Indemnitie, as provideth security, for the quiet, ease, or safety of the Soldiers, disbanded or to be disbanded. No securitie for

a *Viz.* The copy of the grievances presented to the Parliaments Commissioners at *Saffron Walden.*

b *Viz.* the Representation of the Armies dissatisfactions, agreed on upon *June* 4. & 5. pag. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. where these

were represented as the ground of the solemn Engagement.

a Viz. the declaration of *Iu.* 14. p. 6. 9.

d Viz. the Remonst. of *Iun.* 23. pag. 6 7.

Its mentioned as one of the disatisfactions, that caused the march to London.

See also the disatisfactions of the Armie annexed to the Engagement. pag. 19, 20.

for our Arreers, or provision for present pay, to inable the Army to subsist, without burthening the distressed Country. And in respect to the rights and freedomes of our selves and the people, that we declared we would insist upon, we conceive there is no kind or degree of satisfaction given: *a* there is no determinate period of time set when the Parliament shall certainly end: The house is in no measure purged, either from persons unduly elected, or from Delinquents, that appeared to be such at the Armies last insisting upon their rights, or since: the *b* honour of the Parliamentary authoritie not cleared, and vindicated from the most horrid injustice of that Declaration against the Army for petitioning, nor of suppressing and burning Petitions, abusing and imprisoning Petitioners: But those strange presidents remaine upon Record, to the infamy of Parliamentary authority; and the danger of our own and the peoples freedomes: The people are not righted, nor satisfied in point of accompts, for the vast summes of money disbursed by them: None of the publique burthens, or oppressions, by arbitrary Committees, *c* iniustice in the Law, Tythes, Monopolies, and restraint of free trade, burthensome Oathes, inequalitie of Assessements, Excize, and otherwise are removed or lightned, the rights of the people in their Parliaments, concerning the nature and extent of that power, are not cleared and declared. So that we apprehend our own & the peoples case, little (if in any measure) better, since the Army last hazarded themselves for their own and the peoples rights and freedomes. Nay, to the griefe of our hearts, we must declare, that we conceive, the people and the Armies case much impaired, since the first Randezvouz at *New Market*, when that solemne ingagement was entred into: And that from the consideration.

That the Armies Engagement, Representations, Declarations, and Remonstrances, and promises in them contained, are declined, and more and more dayly broken, and not only in some smaller matters, wherein the Armie and the Kingdome are not so neerly concerned, but in divers particulars of dangerous consequence to the Army and the whole Nation. As,

First, In the Engagement, pag. the 5. the Armie promised every Member thereof each to other, and to the Parliament and Kingdome, that they would neither disband nor divide, nor suf-

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fer themselves to be disbanded or divided untill satisfaction should be given to the Army in relation to their grievances, and desires; and securitie that neither the Army nor the free borne people of *England*, should remaine subiect to such injuries, oppression, and abuse, as the corrupt party in the Parliament then had attempted against them.

Secondly, The Traine of Artillery is now to be disbanded, before satisfaction or securitie is given to the whole Army in relation to themselves, or other the free borne people, either in respect to their grievances or desires. And when the strength or sinewes of the Army be broken, what effectuall good can be secured for themselves or the people in case of opposition?

Thirdly, The Army is divided into quarters so farre distant, that one part is in no capabilitie to give timely assistance to another, if any designe should be to disband any part by violence sodainly, although neither our grievances nor desires as Soldiers or Commoners are redressed or answered. And as we conceive this dividing of the Army before satisfaction or securitie as aforesaid, to be contrary to the Armies intention in their Engagement, at the said Randezvouz, so we conceive it hath from that time given all the advantage to the enemies, to band and designe against the Armie, whereby not only pay hath been kept from the Soldiers, and securitie for arreers prevented, but the kingdom was indangered to have been imbroyled in blood, and the settlement of the peace and freedome of the Nation, hath been thus long delayed.

The whole intent of the Engagement, and the equitable sense of it, hath been perverted openly, by affirming, and by sinister meanes making seeming determinations in the Counsell, that the Army was not to insist upon, or demand any securitie, for any of their own or other the free borne peoples freedoms or rights, though they might propound any thing to the Parliaments consideration; and according to that high breach of their Engagement, their actions have been regulated, and nothing that was declared formerly, to be insisted upon, hath been resolvedly adhered to, or claimed as the Armies or the peoples due, and we conceive it hath been by this meanes, that the Soldier hath had no pay constantly provided, nor any securitie for Ar-

Viz. His Excellencies letter to the City sent from *Royston*, *June* 16.

reers given them, & that hitherto they could not obtain so much, as to be paid up equally with those that did desert the Army, it not being possitively insisted upon although in the Remonstrance of *June*, 23. pag. 11. It was declared, that it should be insisted upon resolvedly, to be done before the *Thursday* night after the sending that Remonstrance, and its now many moneths since.

The pay since received hath not been so much as since accrued to be due in course, and therefore that answers not the three moneths Arreers that was paid to the deserters of the Armie.

Fourthly, In the prosecution of this breach, there hath been many discouragements of the Agitators of the Regiments, in consulting about the most effectuall meanes, for procuring the speedy redresse of the peoples grievances, and clearing and securing the native rights of the Army, and all others the free Commons.

It hath been instilled into them, that they ought not to intermeddle with those matters, thereby to induce them, to betray the trust the Regiments reposed in them; and for that purpose, the endeavours of some hath been to perswade the Soldiery, that their Agitators have medled with more, then concerned them. In the Declaration of *June* 14. pag. *It* was declared that the Army would adheare to their desires of full and equall satisfaction to the whole Soldiery of the Kingdome in Arreers, Indempnity, and all othre things mentioned in the papers, that contained * the grievances, dissatisfactions and desires who did then, or should afterward concurre with this Army in these desires.

It was declared to be one of the chiefe grounds of discontent, if any part of the Armie should be disbanded before satisfaction was given to the whole, See the Engagement pag. 3. and the Armies first grievances, and are not all that concurred with the Armie in the same condition?

But many thousands who have concurred with this Army, are now to be sent for *Ireland*, or to be disbanded with two moneths pay, before any securitie for Arrears, or sufficient *Indempnitie*, or any satisfaction to any desires as Soldiers or Commoners, the propounded; so now our Declaration is forgotten, and the faith of the Army, and his Excellency broken, for it may be remembred, that his excellency often promised, that the same care should be taken for those, that concurred, that should be for this Army, therefore if this course be driven on, what better can wee expect for our selves in the end?

Sixtly, In the same Declaration, *June* 14. pag. 6. it is declared that the Army took up Armes, in judgement and conscience, for the peoples just rights and liberties, and not as mercenary Souldiers, hired to serve an arbitrary power of the State, and that

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in the ſame manner it continued in armes at that time, and pag. 7. of the ſame Declaration, it was declared that they proceeded upon the principles of right and freedome, and upon the law of nature and Nations,: But the ſtrength of the endeavours of many hath been, and are now, ſpent to perſwade the Soldiers and Agitators, that they ſtand as Soldiers only to ſerve the State, and may not as free Commons claime their right and freedome as due to them, as thoſe ends for which they have hazzarded their lives, and that the ground of their refuſing to disband, was only the want of Arrears and Indempnitie.

Seventhly, In the Remonſtrance *June* 23. pag. 14. compared with pag. 15. it was declared, that ſuch extraordinary courſes ſhould be taken, as God ſhould direct & enable them thereunto, to put things to a ſpeedy iſſue, unles by the *Thurſday* then imediately following, aſſurance and ſecuritie were given to the Army and Kingdome, that the things deſired in the Declaration, *June* the 14. ſhould be ſpeedily granted and ſetled.

But there hath been ever ſince, a totall neglect of inſiſting poſſitively upon the redreſſe of thoſe grievances, or granting thoſe deſires of the Army as Soldiers. That the Declaration of *June* the 14. pag. the 3. refers unto, as formerly expreſſed, and not ſo much as one of thoſe deſires, as Commoners of *England* in the behalfe of themſelves and others, (propounded in the ſame Declaration, pag. 6 9, 10, 11.) hath been inſiſted upon poſſitively; neither ſetting a determinate period, wherein the Parliament ſhall certainly end, nor purging the Houſe, nor clearing the rights of the people, in petitioning, nor the righting of them in accounts, &c. ſo that by theſe declinings of the Army, from inſiſting reſolvedly upon the peoples, and the Armies own rights, both are after long expectations, as farre from right and freedome, as though there had been no man to plead *p* their cauſe. And herein it is to be obſerved, that the neglect of inſiſting upon our moſt juſt deſires, hath given enemies ſuch ſecret incouragement, that they ſhufle off any deſires, though propounded, as to be inſiſted upon, as may be mentioned in that our juſt deſire, of recalling publikely the Declaration, inviting al to deſert the Army, & profeſſed to be inſiſted upon, in the ſame Declaration, *June* 23. pag. 11. which notwitſtanding to this day was never publiquely recalled; ſo likewiſe the deſire

Viz. declaration *June* 14. pag. 4.

Viz. the Armies repreſentation of diſatisfaction *Jun.* 4. 5. page 19.

of

of vindicating the Parliaments honour, in relation to a publique disowning the order to suppresse our first Petition, and many others.

The parliament & *Scots* Commissioners long since resolved that satisfaction and securitie was to be given to the people in relation to those publike ends for which they expended so much treasure and blood, before the King should be provided for this is hinted in the Remonstrance signed *Kingstone*, page 11.

Eighthly, *In* the declaration of *Iune* 14. pag. 10. as in all other Remonstrances and Declarations, it was desired, that the rights and liberties of the people might be secured, before the Kings businesse should be considered. But now the grievances of the people are propounded to be considered after the restoring him to the regall power, and that in such a way according to the proposals *viz.* with a negative voice, that the people that have purchased by blood what was their right, of which the King endeavoured to deprive them, should yet solely depend on his will, for their reliefe in their grievances and oppressions; and in like manner the securitie for the Armies Arrears, is proposed, to be considered after the businesse of the King be determined, so that there is a totall declension since the method formerly desired, in the setling the peace of the Nation.

Ninthly, *It* hath been alwayes professed and declared, that the Army was called forth and conjured by the *Parliaments* Declarations, for defence of the peoples rights, against the forces raised by the King, and for delivering the King from his evill Councell, who seduced him to raise the war, and bringing Delinqueuts to condigne punishment. But now through the Armies countenance and indulgence, those conquered enemies, that were the Kings forces, abuse, reproach, and againe insult over the people, whose freedome was the grounds of the Armies engagement, yea, the *Kings* evill Councellors, that concurred in designing all the mischiefes in the *Kings* late warre against the people, are againe restored to him, and are admitted free accesse without check into all the Armies quarters, whereby they are restored to a capacitie of plotting and designing mischiefe against the Armie and kingdome.

Tenthly, When imminent ruine, to the whole nation was apprehended, by meanes of the multitudes of corrupted Members in *Parliament*, diverting and obstructing all good proceedings; then the purging of the House in part, from one kind of Delinquents, was againe insisted upon, and a solemn Protestation was passed in the remonstrance from *Kingstone*, pag. 21. That the

Army

Armie would not permit those to sit in the House, that usurped the name and power of Parliamentary authoritie, when the Parliament was by violence suspended, and endeavoured to raise a warre to distroy the Parliament and Army, but that they would take some effectuall course to restraine them from sitting there, that the people might be concluded only by those Members that are free from such apparant treacherous breaches of their trust.

But hitherto this Engagement for purging the House from those Delinquents, (whose interest ingages them to be designing mischiefe against the people and Army) is declined and broken, to the black reproach and foulest infamie of the Army; and now these strong cords are cut in sunder and so forgotten, that there are no visible endeavou rs or intentions, to preserve the honour of the Armie, in its faithfullnesse to its Engagement and Protestation.

Thus all promises of the *A*rmie to the people that Petitioned his Excellencie and the Army to stand for the National interest, freedomes and rights, are hitherto wholly declined, and the law of nature and nations now refused by many to be the rule by which their proceedings should be regulated; they now strip themselves of the interest of English men, which was so ill resented when it was attempted by the mallice of the enemies. * And thus the peoples expectations that were much greatned, and their hopes of reliefe in their miseries and oppressions which were so much heightned are like to be frustrate, and while you looke for peace and freedome, the flood-gates of slaverie, oppression and miserie are opened upon the Nation, as may appeare by the present manifold dangers that incompasse about the Army and the whole Nation.

* See his Excellencies letter to the City, dated Iu. 10. pag. 4.

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The mischiefes, evills, and dangers, which are and will be the necessar consequence of the Armies declining or delaying the effectuall fulfilling of its first Engagement, Promises and Declarations or of its neglect to insist possitively upon its first principles of common right and freedome.

WHereas its now many moneths since the Army declared (*In* answer to the Petitions of divers Counties, and from the sense of an absolute necessitie thereof,) that they would insist upon the peoples intereſt; as in the Declaration of *Iune* 14 pag. 13. And yet no relieſe for the people in any of their oppreſſions, by arbitrary powers, Monopolies, iniustice in the proceeding at Law, Tythes, Excize, &c. is effectually procured; nor any greater probabillitie of future helpe is visible then was before; no foundations of freedome being yet laid; and yet the Soldiery burthening the country with free quatters and occaſioning greater taxes. Theſe five miſchieſes and dangers enſue inevitably.

Then alſo they profeſſed that they hoped God would cleare it, that they have acted the kingdomes and every honeſt mans intereſt, *viz.* the Remonſtrance from *Kingſtone* pag. 12.

Firſt, The love and affection of the people to the Armie, which is (an armies greateſt ſtrength) is decayed, cooled, and neere loſt; its already the common voice of the people, what good hath our new Saviours done for us? What grievances have they procured to be redreſſed? Wherein is our condition bettered? or how are we more free then before?

Secondly, Not only ſo, but the Army is rendred as an heavie burthen to the people, in regard more pay is exacted dayly for them, and the people find no good procured by them, thats anſwerable or equivolent to the charge, ſo that now the people begin to cry lowder for disbanding the Army then they did formerly for keeping us in Armes, becauſe they ſee no benefit accruing, they ſay they are as likely to be oppreſſed and inſlaved both by King and Parliament, as they were before the Armie engaged profeſſedly to ſee their freedomes cleared and ſecured.

Thirdly, Whilſt the peoples old oppreſſions are continued, and more taxes alſo are impoſed for pay for the Army, they are diſabled dayly more & more for the mantaining of an Army for their preſervation, for they beginne to ſay, they can but be diſtroyed by oppreſſion

oppreſſion, and its all one to them, whether it be by pretended friends or profeſſed Enemies, it were as good, ſay they, that the King ſhould rule againe by prerogative; we were ſlaves then to his will, and we are now no better; we had rather have one tyrant then hundreds.

Fourthly, By this meanes, diſtractions diviſions heart burnings and jealouſies are increaſed, to the imminent danger of ruine to the Army and kingdome; the people are inclined to tumults, crying out, will none procure reliefe for us? ſhall we alwayes be deluded with faire words, and be devoured by oppreſſors? we muſt ere long riſe up in armes, and every one catch what he can: thus confuſion is threatned.

Fiftly, The Army is expoſed to contempt and ſcandall, and the moſt black reproaches, and infamies are caſt upon them; the people ſay, that their reſolutions not to disband were, becauſe they would live idlly on the peopies labours; and when the Soldiers are conſtrained to take free quarters, *this* (ſaith the people) is for freedome, and right, to eate the bread out of our childrens mouths: ſo that many Soldiers are ashamed of themſelves, and feare that the people ſhould riſe to diſtroy them: you will doe nothing for us (ſay they) we are vexed by malignant Iudges, for conſcience ſake, by arbitrary Committees in the Country, and at Parliament ordering one thing this day, and recalling it the next, to our intollerable vexation; injuſtice in the law is the ſame, and we buy our right at as deare a rate as ever, Tythes are inforced from us double and threble. Excize continues, we can have no accompts of all our moneys disburſed for the publike, more is dayly required, and we know not what is become of all we have paid already, the Soldiers have little pay, and the maimed Soldiers, Widowes, and Orphans, are thruſt upon us to be parriſh charges.

2ly. Whereas the Engagement is broken, and the firſt principles deſerted or neglected, theſe miſchiefes and dangers have enſued.

1. The enemies are incouraged and imboldned to proceed in prejudice to the people & the Army as formerly: they may receive hopes upon the armies own words in their general Councels, that the army will not oppoſe or diſturbe them in their proceedings, to deprive

* They formerly prevailed and proceeded in that way viz. Del. offered to the Commſſioners at *Saffron Walden.*

deprive the Armie and people of their native rights; for if they can abuse the Parliament, or surprize them as formerly, they may say for themselves, the Armie hath declared, that they stand only as Soldiers, and will not insist upon any positive demand of their own and the Nations freedomes, and was it not this that imboldned the enemies formerly to suppresse our first petition, and declare us enemies, for petitioning? they thought we would have stood only as mercenary Soldiers, hired to serve their arbitrary power; and not remembred that we by, their invitation took up armes in judgement and conscience, to preserve the nation from tyrannie and oppression, and therefore were obleiged to insist upon our rights and freedomes as Commoners, and surely it hath been upon this ground, that they kept us without money so long, thinking we would not or durst not insist upon our demands of that which is due to us; and upon this ground we judge the Parliament hath proceeded of late to increase the peoples oppressions, by an Ordinance for trible dammages, to be paid by all that refuse, (though for conscience sake) to pay Tythes, and an Ordinance to lock up the printing presses against whom they please, which was in the Bishops time complained of, as one of the great oppressions, and have slighted just petitions, and neglected to consider and redresse the prisoners grievances and oppressions, and the sufferings of conscientious persons, by the unjust statutes against Convinticles so stiled, and statutes for Common prayer Book, and enforcing all to come to Church, and all other the peoples grievances.

2. From the Armies declining their first principles, the same corrupt Members remaine in *Parliament* that caused the *Army* to be proclaimed enemies for petitioning, and its to be observed that through the influence of those in the House, there was never any publike vindication of the *Armys* honour, and of the justice of their petitioning at that time; and can the *Armie* be safe, so long as its old declared enemies are in power, and doe but watch the fittest opportunitie to worke any mischiefe, but not only those enemies remain in power, and watch to distroy you, but *65.* at least that lately voted and endeavoured to raise a new war, to distroy the Army, are suffered to vote in the *Parliament*, though the Army hath protested solemnly, they would not suffer those usurpers

* viz. the Remonstrance from Ingston *August* 18, pag. 21.

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uſurpers to ſit there, or that they would be concluded by thoſe that were coactors in ſuch treaſonable breaches of their truſt.

3. Through the Armies dividing contrary to the Engagement, and neglecting to inſiſt upon the firſt declaration, the enemies have had power and opportunitie, to prevent them of their conſtant pay, and obſtruct all proceedings to ſecuritie for arreers, whereas otherwiſe the enemies would not have dared to preſume to obſtruct good proceedings, and to proſecute their deſignes againſt the armie.

4. Through the armies back-ſliding from the Remonſtrance, and Proteſtation from *Kingſtone*, *Auguſt.* 18 thoſe that lately endeavoured to raiſe a warre againſt the *Parliament* and Army, continue in the Houſe, and have paſſed an Ordinance, wherein thoſe betrayers of their truſt are acknowledged to have been a Houſe of *Parliament*, when the *Parliament* was forced away and ſuſpended, and the Armie having declared them to be no *Parliament*, and his Excellencie ſlighted their command, at *Colebrooke* profeſſing he knew no Parliament, to which he ſhould ſend, are by this made guilty of the higheſt treaſon, and ſo a ſnare is laid for his Excellencie and the Army, that when the enemies ſhall have the advantage, they may be declared traytors, for declaring againſt the Parliament and diſowning their authoritie, ſo that if ſome ſpeedy remedie be not applyed, no man knowes how ſoon the enemie may prevaile to diſtroy his *Excellency*, the Armie and kingdome by this meanes: and the pollicie of the enemie is to be obſerved, that they would never ſuffer that Declaration to be debated in the Houſe, that was publiſhed at the Armies marching towards London, wherein thoſe that uſurped the power of a Parliament, when the Parliament was ſuſpended, were declared to be no legall Parliament: but the Declaration and Remonſtrance of *Auguſt* 18. wherein the Armie proteſted againſt the ſitting of thoſe uſurpers in the *Houſe*, may together be made the ground of their declaring us Traytors upon any advantage, for diſowning, and declaring againſt the ſupreame authoritie of the Nation, in caſe thoſe uſurpers ſhall continue to be acknowledged a houſe of Parliament, as it remaines at preſent by the late Ordinance of *Auguſt* 20. procured to be paſſed by thoſe Vſurpers themſelves ſitting Iudges of their own caſe.

* viz. Dec. ſhewing the reaſons of their laſt march unto London pag. 9.

5 By this neglect and declining of the Army, The Parliament is returned to their old delatory way of proceeding, neither insisting upon the relieving the people speedily and effectually in any of their grievances, nor providing constant pay for the Army, nor securitie for arreers; so that the delayes that are occasioned through the Armies declining their first principles are as distructive to the Armie and Kingdome as if there were direct actings by the Army against the Kingdomes peace.

6 Through the same declension of the Armies first principles, and the good and necessary method propounded for setling the nation in peace and freedome before the kings businesse be considered, the King is likely to recover his old capacity, before the peoples freedomes (which they have redeemed out of the hands of him & his forces by blood) be cleared and established securely, & likewise before any security be given for arreers; & then what probabilitie there is, that then there should be any good securitie of pay obtained for the armie that conquered him, & for the freedomes of those that assisted them, let any rational man judge? It may more certainly be expected, that he will provide for the pay and Arrers of his own Soldiery rather then of ours. And likewise by the same meanes, the armies and their assistants indempnitie, is propounded to receive its strength from the Kings consent; whereas not only his signing of, or consent to any act is wholly null and void in law, because he is under restraint, and so our indemnitie, will be insufficient, if it shall depend in the least, on his confirmation. But also its the highest disparagement to the supream authority of this Nation, the Parliament, that when they have commanded an armie upon service against the King, they should not have sufficient power to save them harmelesse for obedience to their commands, and also its the highest dishonour to the armie, that they should seeke to the conquered enemie to save them harmelesse for fighting against them, which is to aske him pardon, & so will remain as a perpetual reproach upon them.

7. Through the armies declining its first principles, to insist upon satisfaction and securitie as Soldiers & Commoners before disbanding or dividing the armie, is it now likely to be so far scattered into severall quarters, that it shall be in no capacitie, to insist upon securitie for arreers, sufficient indempnitie, or upon any its own or the nations rights, in case they shall be still denyed them.

8. It

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7. Through the armies declining its first principles, to insist upon satisfaction and securitie as Soldiers & Commoners before disbanding or dividing the armie, is it now likely to be so far scattered into severall quarters, that it shall be in no capacitie, to insist upon securitie for arreers, sufficient indempnitie, or upon any its own or the nations rights, in case they shall be still denyed them.

8. It

8. It is to be considered that the enemies on the one hand, and the other increase dayly in their boldnesse, confidence, and strength, whilest securitie for the armies arreers, and constant future pay (so long as it shall be continued) are not provided, and and the rights and freedomes of the people are not cleared and secured, & the armie maydivide, in case one part should insist upon the first just principles, and be faithfull thereunto, and another part should by flatteries, preferments, feare or negligence decline or deserr them, and let it be considered what strength that would adds to the enemies, and how far it will indanger the ruine of the armie and kingdome.

Now we cannot but declare, that these sad apprehensions of mischiefes, dangers and confusion gaping to devoure the armie hath filled our hearts with troubles, that we never did, nor doe regard the worst of evills or mischiefes that can befall our selves in comparison to the consequence of them to the poore Nation, or to the security of common right and freedom, we could not but in (reall not formall fained) trouble of heart for the poore Nation and oppressed people, breake forth and cry, O our bowels! our bowels! we are troubled at the very heart to heare the peoples dolfull groanes, and yet their expected deliverers will not heare or consider, they have run to and fro, and sighed or even wept forth forth their sorrowes and miseries, in petitions, first to the King then to the Parliament, and then to the armie, yet they have all been like broken reeds, even the armie it selfe upon whom they leaned have pierced their hands, their eyes even faile with looking for peace and freedome, but behold nothing but distraction, oppression and trouble, and could we hope that helpe is intended, yet the people perish by delayes, we wish therefore that the bowells of compassion in the whole armie might yearne towards their distressed brethren, and that they might with one consent say each to other, come let us joyne together speedily to demand present redresse for the peoples grievances, and securitie for all their and our own rights and freedomes as Soldiers and Commoners. Let us never divide each from other till those just demands be answered really and effectually, that so for the peoples ease as many forces as are not absolutely necessary may be speedily disbanded and our honour may be preserved unspotted, when they shall see,

 that

that we minded not our own intereſt, but the good, freedome, and welfare of the whole Nation. Now to all that ſhall thus appeare we propound.

That whatſoever was propoſed to be inſiſted on either, in the the Declaration of *June* the 14. or the Remonſtrance *June* 23 and in the Remonſtrance from *Kingſtone*, *Auguſt* 18. be adhered to reſolvedly, ſo as not to receed from thoſe deſires, untill they be throughly and effectually anſwered: more particularly, that whereas it appeares by poſſitive lawes and antient iuſt cuſtomes, that the people have right to new ſucceſſive elections for Parliaments, at certain periods of time, and that it ought not to be denyed them, being ſo eſſentiall to their freedome, that without it they are no better then ſlaves, the nature of that legiſlative power, being arbitrary: and that therefore it be inſiſted on ſo poſſitively, and reſolvedly, as not to recede from it.

1. That a determined period of time, be forthwith ſet, wherein this Parliament ſhall certainly be deſolved, provided alſo that the ſaid period be within 9. or 10. moneths, next enſuing, that ſo there may be ſufficient time for ſetling of peace and freedome.

2. Whereas all good is obſtructed and diverted by the power & influence of Delinquents the late uſurpers, & undu elected ones in the Parliament, that therfore it be poſſitively & reſolvedly inſiſted on; that the houſe be forthwith purged, from al that have forfited their truſt, or were unduly elected, but eſpecially that an order be paſſed forthwith, for the expelling all thoſe from the houſe, who ſate in the late pretended Parliament, & that likewiſe a ſevere penalty be ordered to be impoſed on every of thoſe uſurpers that ſhall preſume to ſit in the Houſe, for the paſſing of ſuch an order, before they ſhall have given ſufficient evidence, that they neither voted for a new warre, or for the Kings comming to London upon his own tearmes.

3. Wheras his Excellencie & the whole armie were guilty of the higheſt treaſon if the pretended Parliament had been a legall Parliament, and its apparent that they were no legall Parliament, that therefore it be poſſitively and reſolvedly inſiſted upon, that the Declaration of the army upon their laſt march up to London be forthwith publikely owned, and approved of by the Parliament, and that the ſame publique approbation be Paſſed upon the Remonſtrance, & proteſt ſent from *Kingſtone Auguſt* 18.

4. Whereas

4 Whereas Parliaments rightly constituted are the foundation of hopes of right and freedome to this people, and whereas the people have been prevented of Parliaments, though many possitive lawes have been made for a constant succession of Parliaments, that therefore it be possitively and resolvedly insisted upon, that a law peramount be made, enacting it, to be unalterable by *P*arliaments that the people shall of course meet without any warrants or writs once in every two yeares upon an appointed day in their respective Countyes, for the election of their representors in Parliament, & that all the freeborn at the age of 21 yeares and upwards, be the electors, excepting those that have or shall deprive themselves of that their freedome, either for some yeares, or wholly by delinquency, and that the Parliament so elected and called, may have a certaine period of time set, wherein they shall of course determine, and that before the same period. they may not be adjournable and dissolvable by the King, or any other except themselves.

Whereas all power is originally and essentially in the whole body of the people of this Nation, and whereas their free choice or consent by their Representors is the only originall or foundation of all just government; and the reason and end of the choice of all just Governors whatsoever is their apprehension of safety and good by them, that it be insisted upon possitively, That the supreame power of the peoples representors or Commons assembled in Parliament, be forthwith clearly declared as their power to make lawes, or repeale lawes, (which are not, or ought not to be unalterable) as also their power to call to an account all officers in this Nation whatsoever, for their neglect or treacheries in their trust for the peoples good, and to continue or displace and remove them from their offices, dignities or trust, according to their demerrits by their faithfulnesse or treacherie in the businesse or matters where with they are intrusted. And further that this power to constitute any kind of governors or officers, that they shall judge to be for the peoples good, be declared, and that upon the aforesaid considerations it be insisted upon, that all obstructions to the freedome and equallitie of the peoples choice of their Representors, either by *P*atents, Charters or usurpations, by pretended customes, be removed by these present Commons in Parliament, and that such a freedome of choice be provided for, as the people may be equally represented. This power of Commons in Parliament, is the thing against which the King hath contended, and the people have defended

with their lives, and therefore ought now to be demanded as the price of their blood.

That all the oppreſſions of the poore by Excize upon Beare, Cloath, Stuffes, and all manufacturies, and Engliſh commodities; be forthwith taken off, and that all Excize be better regulated, and impoſed upon forraign commodities, and a time ſet wherein it ſhall certainly end, if there be a neceſſity of its preſent continuance on ſuch commodities.

3. Whereas the people have disburſed ſuch vaſt ſums of money, by Pole-money, Subſidies, propoſition money, Contribution, the five and twentieth part, viewes and reviewes of the ſame monethly aſſeſſements, Excize, and other wayes, and ſuch vaſt ſums have been collected and enforced by Sequeſtrations, Compoſitions, ſale of Biſhops lands, and other wayes, that the whole charge of the forces by ſea and land might have been defrayed to the utmoſt farthing, and yet many millions of money remained of all that have been disburſed freely, or enforced had been faithfully brought into the publike treaſury, and improved for the publique uſe, only therefore that in reſpect to the peoples right, and for their eaſe, and for better and more eaſie proviſion of money for the Soldiery, that it be inſiſted upon poſſitively, that faithfull perſons be choſen to receive accounts in every part of the kingdome, eſpecially conſidering that former Committees for accounts were conſtituted in a time when corrupt men over poured the Parliament, and yet they have done no ſervice in diſcovering moneys ſince their conſtitution, and herein its to be inſiſted on, that all without diſtinction, as well parliament men as others, may be equally accountable to perſons choſen for that purpoſe.

Now herein its further to be inſiſted on, that whereas the time was wholly corrupt when perſons were appointed to make ſale of Biſhops lands, and whereas Parliament men, Committee men, and their kinſfolkes were the only buyers, and much is ſold, and yet its pretended, that little or no money is received, and whereas Lords, Parliament-men, and ſome other rich men, have vaſt ſums of arreers allowed them in their purchaſe, and all their moneys lent to the ſtate paid them, while others are left in neceſſitie, to whom the ſtate is much indebted, and ſo preſent money that might be for the equall advantage of all, is not brought into the publique Treaſury by thoſe ſales. *Its* therefore to be inſiſted on, that the ſale of Biſhops lands be received, and that they may be ſold to their worth, and for preſent moneys, for the publike

uſe

use, and yet the sale of all such be recalled, as have not been sold to their worth, or for present moneys.

And it is further offered in consideration that the Court have occasioned the late warre, and reduced the state to such necessity, by causing such vast expence of treasure, that therefore whereas the many oppressions of the people, and the danger of absolute tyrany, were the occasion of the expence of so much blood, and whereas the people have bought their rights and freedomes, by the price of blood, and have in vaine wasted long since, the common enemie, hath been subdued for the redresse of their grievances and oppressions, that therefore it be demanded as the peoples due, which ought not to denyed to the Army or to them yet seeing the King hath his Court and lives in honour, yet before his businesse be further considered, because the people are under much oppression and misery, it be forthwith the whole worke of the Parliament, to heare consider of, and study effectually redresse for all common grievances and oppressions, and for the securing all other the peoples rights and freedomes, besides all these afore mentioned, and in particuler.

First, that all the orders, votes, ordinances or declarations, that have passed either to discountenance petitions, suppresse, prevent or burne petitions, imprison or declare against petitioners, being dangerous presidents against the freedom of the people, may be forthwith expunged out of the Journall books, & the injustice of them clearly declared to all the people, and that in such a declaration the soldiery be vindicated, as to the right and equity of their first petition, all those large summes of money that were allowed to needlesse pretended Officers of the Court which did but increase wickednesse and prophaneness, may be reserved for a publiqve treasure to be extended in paying those Lords that must be maintained, for the peoples safety, and whereas there is now 50 l. *perdiem*: allowed for the court, who offered that there might be 300l. *perdiem*: allowed for the court, to be paid out of the publique treasury, through a good and faithfull improvement of al the Lands pertaining to the Court, there must be as much reserved for leaving publique charges, and easing the people.

And its further offered, that whereas millions of money, have been kept in deads stock in the City of *Lonndon* the Hals and Companies, and the free men of the City could never obtaine any account thereof, according to their right. That therefore a just and strict account may be forthwith given to all the freemen of any those dead stocks, and yet

whereas

whereas there hath been nothing paid out of those, nor for the lands pertaining to the City, whiles the estates of others have been much wasted, by continuall payments, that therefore proportionable summs to what other estates have payd, may be taken out of those dead stocks, and lands which would amount to such vast sums, as would pay much of the soldiers arreares, without burthening the oppressed people.

And its further offered, that forrest lands, and Deanes and Chapters lands be imaediately set appart for the arrears of the Army, and that the revenue of these and the residue of Bishops lands unsold till the time of sale may be forthwith appoynted to be paid unto our Treasury, to be reserved for the soldiers constant pay. And its to be wished that only such part of the aforesaid lands be sold as necessity requires, to satisfie the soldiery for arreares, and that the residue be reserved and improved for a constant revenue for the State, that the people may not be burthened, and that out of the revenues publique debts may be paid, and not first taken out of their own purses to be repayed to them.

And its further offered for the peoples ease, that the arreers of all former assessements be duly collected from those who have sufficient estates, and have not been impoverished by the warre.

And whereas its conceived that the fees of receivers of customes and Excize if they were justly computed, would amount to neere as much as the Armies pay, its therefore offered that speedy consideration be had of the multitude of those officers and their excessive fees, & profits, as 500. 600. 1000. 1200. l *per annum*. And whereas that many Excize men appoint whom they please as their substitute, and alow what they please for their pay, that the officers may be few, and constant stipends allowed them, none exceeding 200. l. *per annum*, that so more moneys may be brought into the publike treasury.

And for the ease and satisfaction of the people, its further to be insisted on, that the charge of all the forces to be kept up in the kingdome by sea or land, be particularly computed and published, and that all taxes that shall be necessary, may be wholly proportioned, according to that charge; and that there be an equall rate propounded throughout the kingdome in all assessements, that so one town may not beare double the proportion of another of the same value.

4. That all Monopolyes be forthwith removed, and no persons whatsoever may be permitted to restraine others from free trade.

5. That the most sad oppressions of prisoners be forthwith eased and removed, and that no person that hath no estate reall or personall, nor any person that shall willingly yeeld up his estate to satisfie his creditors may be detained in prison to the ruine of their persons and families, and likewise, that no person imprisoned in a criminall cause, may be detained from his legall tryall any longer then the next tearme.

6. That all statutes, for the Common prayer book, and for enforcing all to come to Church

Church, whereby many religious and conſcientious people are dayly vexed and oppreſſed, be forthwith repealed and nulled. As alſo that all Statutes againſt Conventicles, under the pretence of which, religious people are vexed for private meetings about the worſhip of God, may be likewiſe repealed and nulled.

7. That all the oppreſſive ſtatutes, enforcing all perſons though againſt their conſciences to pay Tythes, whereby the husbandman cannot eate the fruit of his labours, may be forthwith repealed and nulled.

8. That all ſtatutes enforcing the taking of oaths, as in townes corporate, the oath of Supreamacy, &c. Wherein either the whole oaths, or ſome clauſes in them, are burthens, and ſnares to conſcientious people may be repealed and nulled.

9. That it be declared that no perſon or Court ſhall have power or be permitted to enforce any perſon to make oath, or anſwer to any Interrogatories concerning himſelf, in any criminall caſe.

10. That a Committee of conſcientious perſons be forthwith ſelected to conſider of the moſt intollerable oppreſſions by unjuſt proceedings in the law, that with all the lawes might be reduced to a ſmaller number, to be comprized in one volume in the the Engliſh tongue, that every free Commoner might underſtand his own proceedings, that Courts might be in the reſpective Counties or Hundreds, that proceedings might become ſhort and ſpeedy, and that the numberleſſe grievances in the law and Lawyers, might be redreſſed as ſoone as poſſible.

11. That all priviledges and protections above the law, whereby ſome perſons are exempted from the force and power thereof, to the inſufferable vexation and ruine of multitudes of diſtreſſed people, may be forthwith abbrogated.

12 That all the antient rights and donations belonging to the poore, now imbezled and converted to other uſes, as incloſed Commons, Alms houſes, &c. throughout all parts of the land, may be forthwith reſtored to the antient publique uſe and ſervice of the poore, in whoſe hands ſoever they be detained.

Many other grievances are and ought to be redreſſed, but theſe as they are propounded, we conceive might be in a very ſhort time redreſſed to the reliefe of many diſtreſſed ones, and to a generall eaſe; or at leaſt, put into a way, wherein there might be viſible hopes of remedie, and therefore theſe might be demanded as due to the people, though we deſire the Counties might be encouraged to repreſent all their other grievances alſo for ſpeedy redreſſe.

7. Generall head. That it be inſiſted on, that ſuch Indempnitie be forthwith given both for the Soldiery and all that gave them aſſiſtance, and ſhall provide ſecurely for their quiet, eaſe and ſafety, and prevent all chargeable journeys to London, to ſeek after and waite upon Committees.

8. That in ſome of the fore mentioned wayes, ſecurity be given for arreers forthwith, that as ſoone as the rights and freedomes of the people be ſecured according as its hereupon propounded, and the other deſires of the Army in relation to their particular freedome from preſſing, and proviſion to be made in a certaine and no diſhonourable way for maimed Soldiers, Widowes, and Orphans, that ſhall continue during their lives, that then the Armes may be diſpoſed into the hands of the faithfull well affected of the Nation, which may be ſo formed into a military poſture, as to be ready on all occaſions of ſervice, and as many of the forces that

are

are kept in constant pay, as shall not be absolutely necessary for the preservation and safety of the people, may be as speedily as possible disbanded, that they may not be a burthen to the Nation.

9. Whereas mercy and justice are the foundations of a lasting peace, its necessary to be insisted on (for the healing differences as far as possible,) That all those whose estates have been sequestered, and yet were not in armes for the King, or gave any actuall assistance to him in men, money, or armes, plate, horse, &c. in the late warre, that all such be discharged forthwith from their sequestrations; and that all such as have compounded, may not be enforced, to pay the five or twenteth part, seeing their whole estates were so long under sequestrations: and that all those that have not compounded, who were in Armes for the King, may be compelled forthwith to compound, provided, that their Compositions be so moderate, as none may exceed two yeares revenue, that their families be not ruined, and they put upon desperate attempts against the peace of the Nation to preserve themselves.

These things propounded are no more then what we conceived, should have been thoroughly done long since, being as to the principall of them but this substance and equitable sense of the former declarations, Remonstrances? and representations, and therefore though our restlesse desires of the peoples good, and of the welfare of the Army, have constrained us thus publiquely to state our case, and the remedie according to the best improvement of the small Tallent of understanding that God hath given freely to us. Yet let not the matter be prejudged because of the unworthy Authors, neither let it be thought presumption. It may be remembred that the Fathers danger made a dumb child to speake, and the Armys yea all the peoples dangers and miseryes have wrested open our mouthes, who had otherwise been silent in this kinde to the grave, and let it not be thought that we intend the division of the Army, we professe we are deeply sensible and desire all our fellow soldiers to consider it.

In case the union of the Army should be broken, (which the enemie waite for,) ruine and destruction will breake in upon us like a roaring sea, but we are much confident that the adhearing to those desires and to that speedy way of attaining our just ends for which we first ingaged, cannot be interpreted to be a desire of division, but the strongest vigorous endeavours after union, and though many whom we did betrust have been guilty of most sapine negligence, yet we expect that the same instruction of judgement and conscience, that we have all professed, did command us forth at first for the peoples Freedome will be againe so effectuall, that all will unanimusly concurre with us, so that a demand of the peoples and Armyes rights shall be made by the whole Army as by one man, that then all the enemies to, or obstructors of the happy settlement of common right, peace and freedome, may heare of our union and resolution, and their hands may be weake, and their hearts may fayle them, and so this Army that God hath cloathed with honour in subduing the common enemie, may yet be more honourable in the peoples eyes, when they shall be called the Repayrers of their breaches, and the restorers of their peace, right, and freedome.

And this is the prayer, and shall alwayes be the earnest endeavours of.

The Armie and all the peoples most faithfull servants.

Lievt. Gen. { *Robert Everard.* / *George Sadler.* } Com. Gen. { *George Garret.* / *Thomas Beverly.* } Col Fleetwood.

{ *William Priar.* / *William Bryan.* } Col. Whalyes. { *Matthew Wealy.* / *William Russell.* / *Richard Seale.* } C. Riches. { *John Dober.* / *William Hudson.* } Agitators.

Gilford, October 9. 1647.

FINIS.

A Copy of a letter from the Agents of the aforesaid five Regiments of Horse, unto His Excellencie, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

May it please your Excellencie,

FRom the deep sense of our duty to God, to our native Country, to your Excellency, to this armie, and to our selves, & to posterities to come, we find such obligations upon our consciences, written naturally by the finger of God in our hearts, that we cannot behold the honour of God to be impaired, the workes of his hands the land of our Nativity, your Excellency, this army, our selves, or posterities, ready to be swallowed and devoured up in confusion, thraldome and ruine, and to sit still, and not arise in the strength of his might, to contribute our best endeavours for the prevention thereof; for, God hath given no man a talent to be wrapt up in a Napkin and not improved, but the meanest vassell in the eye of the world is equally obleiged and accomptable to God with the greatest Prince or Commander under the Sun, in and for the use of that talent betrusted unto him: and therefore we presume that your Excellencie (who does acknowledge your selfe a creature of, and servant to the same God) will not thinke it strange, or judge us disobedient or refractoy, that we should, as we have presumed to state the case of the army, how declined from its first principles of safety, what mischieses are threatned thereby, and what remedies are suitable for prevention, which herewith we doe humbly presens and offer unto your Excellencie; for, Sir should you, yea, should the whole Parliament or Kingdome exempt us from this service, or should command our silence and forbearance, yet could not they nor you discharge us of our duties to God, or to our own na-

tures, for we muſt be accomptable, and judgement will come for the deeds done in our fl ſh, whether good or evill; and he that hath not improved and put forth his talent to uſe, ſhall be bound hand and foot, and caſt into the lake of eternall vengeance: So that we are bold from our ſenſe of your *Excellencies* piety, honeſty and uprightneſſe to God and to your Country, that in this our diſcharge of our duties to both, we ſhall not incurre your diſpleaſure or diſcountenance, but that you will freely commit us and the iſſue of our endeavours to God, and if it be of him it will ſtand, and from our conſciences we atteſt, and proteſt in the preſence of his all ſeeing diety, as we deſire ſafety in this life, or in that which is to come, we have no other then cordiall and fathfull intents and reſolutions to the undoubted ſafety and weale of our native country, to Parliaments your Excellency, & this army in this buſineſſe repreſented in theſe incloſed papers, & we do utterly abhor & renounce al ſecret or private deſigns or intereſt under the ſame, together with all that is contrary to the plain and vulgar ſenſe, expreſſed in the premiſes therof. *And* if by any one your Excellencie ſhall be ſuborned, that we are tranſgreſſors of all order and forme, and in that ſenſe only to looke upon us. We deſire to mind your Excellencie, that the law of nature and nations atteſted in our own publique Declarations and papers may be an anſwer to ſuch for the juſtification of our preſent expedient, for all formes are but as ſhadowes and ſubject to the end, and the ſafety of the people is above all formes, cuſtomes, &c. and the equity of popular ſafety, is the thing which juſtifieth all formes or the change of formes for the accompliſhment thereof; and no formes are lawfull longer then they preſerve or accompliſh the ſame. If our duties bind us when we ſee our neighbours houſe on fire, to wave all formes, ceremonies or complements, and forthwith (not waiting for order or leave) to attempt the quenching thereof without further ſcruple, as thereunto called of God, we ſay if we be ſo oblieged and called in the caſe of a particular, then much more are we obleiged and called, when we behold the *Great Mantion houſe* of this *Common wealth*, and of this *Armie* (wherein all the families of the Nation are contained) *on fire*, all ready to be devoured with ſlavery, confuſion and ruine, and

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their nationall native freedome (the price of their treaſure and blood) wreſted out of their hands, as at this preſent appeareth to our beſt underſtandings: And therefore in this exigencie and ſtraight of extremity, we from the very dictates of Divinity, Nature and Reaſon ingraven in our hearts could not otherwiſe chuſe (with quiet and peace to our conſciences, (which no mortall man can take from us or ſuppreſſe the overpouring motives thereof) but conſider with our ſelves, what we ſhould doe to award thoſe threatnning miſchiefes from this nation and army, & to that end we find nothing more effectuall then to knit our ſelves together with this fixed reſolution, to part with our lives and all that is neare and deare unto us, before we part with our freedomes; and in relation thereunto we the Agents to five Regiments of your Horſe, have after our weak manner in this our Repreſentatation directed to our reſpective Regiments and to the whole Army, diſcharged our duties; And we preſume we haue not erred from the equitable ſenſe of our ſolemn Engagement, or from the juſt maximes and matters contained in our Declarations. Remonſtrances, &c. from the which we are reſolved not to receed. Thus humbly craviug your Excellencies favourable conſtruction in our innocent intentions and endeavours, we (as we alwayes have been) cordially remaine.

Your Excellencies, and this Nations faithfull Servants and Soldiers, to ſtand or fall with you and it, for common Right and Freedome.

George Garret. } Com Gen.
Jeremiah Cole. }

William Prior. }
William Bryan. } Col. *Fleetwood.*
John Fletcher. }

John Dober. } Col. Riches.
William Hudson. }

Matth. Wealey. } Col. Whaleys.
William Russell. }

Hempstead, *October* 15. 1647.

Wee appoint *Edmond Bear*, and *William Russell* aboveſaid, in our names to preſent this Letter together with our Repreſentation intituled, The caſe of the Army, &c. to his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax.*

Vpon the preſentation to, and ſerious peruſall thereof by his Excellency, the ſum of his anſwer was to this effect. That he judged their intentions were honeſt, and deſired that every one of a publique ſpirit would be acting for the publique, and that for his part he had freely ventured his life for common right and freedome, and ſhould freely engage it againe, adding further, that hee thought it meet, it ſhould be preſented to the Generall Councell.

October 18. 1647.